20c JANUARY 21, 1952

CHURCHILL and TRUMAN—What Did They Achieve?

New Republic

VISHINSKY'S NEW OFFER

Transformation or Trick?

A New Policy Toward Russia

By GEN. THOMAS R. PHILLIPS

LOYALTY and CONFORMITY

A Review of Five Books

By David Spitz

JAN 18 1952

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● Re Presidential candidates, it's rather surprising that Alvin Johnson (*NR*, Nov. 26), a liberal with a capital L, should fail to see, in the light of political developments within the last two decades, the importance of parties over personalities.

With the advent of the New Deal the independent liberal joined the Democratic Party because he found in it the expression of his ideals and the medium for their fulfillment. He saw in it a viable political entity whose sights were raised to higher levels, the beginnings of the social changes he was dreaming about. He followed FDR because he gave new meaning, content and direction to the Democratic Party, wrought in its new social designs.

Again, he voted for Truman not because of his stature, but because of the party and its Roosevelt doctrine he represented. An amalgam of progressive labor, farmer, small business and independent groups, the Democratic Party has been fused into a hard core of liberalism.

On the other hand, the Republican Party, made up of a thick bulky layer of conservatism with only a peripheral liberalism, has alienated the independent liberal. It lost five consecutive elections not because of dull candidates, but because of the liberal's rejection of its philosophy. At no point along social legislation has it shown any evidence of its readiness to change to a more liberal course. It's difficult to reconcile the identification of a liberal with a party which, instead of emerging purified out of the purgatory process of defeats, still lacks a sense for history and wants to come back on its old out-dated social patterns. As long as the old guard dominates the party, no liberal can hope to see it further "the true interests of the American people." Neither a domestically unpredictable Eisenhower, nor an outspoken liberal like Warren would be in a position to overcome the strong, deeply entrenched conservatism in the GOP.

Tough as the battle has been to wrest social reforms in the teeth of a Republican-Dixiecrat coalition, the Democratic Party has been and still is the sponsor and activating force behind social gains. The hopes for the liberal cause still lie within the Democratic fold.

Moreover, while it may be true that "the dominant issue in the next election will be our foreign policy," it does not necessarily follow that we must or can choose a President capable of solving our foreign difficulties. First, the solution of the latter lies beyond our best statesmen's wisdom, capacity and will, resting largely in the hands of whimsical, ambitions or frightened men behind the Iron Curtain. Events may create the man, but men cannot dominate events. Second, our domestic problems are closely related to and interlocked with foreign affairs. A weak or strong economic and social structure, an equalized or disparate sacrifice for defense, a proper or improper balance between economic and military demands, will largely determine our foreign course and its outcome. You cannot overdo one at the expense of the other, you cannot reduce one without jeopardizing the other. A soldier can hardly be so immune from prejudice as, when faced with the dilemma between butter and guns, not to tip the scale in favor of guns, can hardly shed his long-acquired self as he sheds his uniform, can hardly be both a leader and follower, which the Presidency requires these days. As is usually the case with the unknown, mystical, Eisenhower has been built up and grown into a mythical miracle figure. Eisenhower may have "won the complete confidence of Western Europe," only to command the Allied army, but not as the policy-maker for its objective.

A General's presence in the White House would not only raise the apprehension already prevalent, as Mrs. Roosevelt reports, in Europe over our intention to have a showdown with Russia, and thicken the fear of war, but serve to stimulate the propaganda against us as warmongers.

The Democratic Party preferred, as shown by a recent Gallup poll, by the majority of the people as the party of actions and accomplishments, must and can continue to be the party of the people for the people and provide the leadership necessary at this critical juncture; it may even have greater appeal under the banner of a renewed New Deal. Besides Truman we can draw upon such liberal, able, competent men as Justices Douglas and Vinson, Senators Douglas, Humphrey and Kefauver.

Philadelphia, Pa. MAX BISER

● How good a President would Eisenhower make? For a short time he was president of a great university, but he wasn't in the job long enough to gain much stature or administrative ability outside of an excellent Army record of achievement. Any army in order to be efficient for its tasks has to be a dictatorship. Generals down to privates know this fact. Just because Ike is well liked doesn't make him a good Presidential candidate.

Walnut Creek, Calif. TOM KENDALL

Toynbee on Russia

● In the *New Republic* of December 31, Arnold Toynbee declares that the Soviet Union performs the "indispensable" function of a "devil" to keep the Western world "morally fit," that the Western "bogey" plays the same role for the Russians, and that neither of the two "would find it easy to keep in good health if the other were entirely eliminated."

I can't help wondering whether the millions of prisoners in Stalin's slave camps would be able to enter into the spirit of Professor Toynbee's neat little intellectual game. Perhaps, too, the Professor regrets the passing of Adolf Hitler and his gas-chambers; think what a joy it would have been to have two devils to keep us backsliding democrats constantly up to snuff! I am also curious to know just what particular aspect of its "good

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Who Could Ask for Anything More?

Mr. Lewis [Fulton Lewis Jr.] said that General MacArthur would make "a very powerful" candidate because he is "a great American, a great showman and has a great appeal to the women." – *From the Canton, Ohio,* Repository.

First Things First

Worn-out land is changed into structurally virgin soil by a new chemical discovery announced to the American Association for the Advancement of Science today . . . It is not a fertilizer, but crops grow from 20 to 100 percent higher yields. It makes better baseball diamonds, stops erosion and promises cheaper road-building. – *AP dispatch from Philadelphia.*

Watch Out for the Hook!

With baited breath Washington waited for Truman's "drastic" action to clean up corruption. – *From T.R.B.'s column in the* New Republic.

A Ton of Prevention

The UNESCO Thinkers, a club of Pawtucket East High School students interested in the United Nations, was ordered suspended yesterday by James T. McGeough, principal, on grounds that the branch of the UN from which the club takes its name is possibly under "atheistic control." – *From the Providence, R. I.,* Journal.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952, IN THE U. S. A. BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE TOTAL cost of the next election will be between $50 and $100 million, of which the GOP will spend about two-thirds. Taft alone spent $5 million in the Ohio Senate race in 1950 against feeble opposition. This is an all-out GOP year. Taft has huge mid-West bank funds; Ike is backed by internationalist Wall Street and the House of Morgan. The public doesn't yet realize that this will be the first TV election, or what it means. The cost of an hour on a TV network is around $50,000. The theoretical "$5,000 legal limitation" on campaign gifts is ridiculously ineffective.

Eisenhower is having trouble deciding what kind of campaign to wage. He half promised to speak in Philadelphia in March; he is now backing away. Ike, a high-minded but politically naïve man, hoped he could be nominated without mud-slinging; he is now appalled at the prospect.

If Taft gets the GOP nomination, it will be through the bought-and-paid-for Southern GOP delegations, and a purchased nomination won't look so good. A suicidal Taft-Ike battle now starts that will diminish each man. Our instinct tells us that after a devastating fight Ike will beat Taft. We have no authority for this other than experience. But GOP delegates want victory even more than they want Taft.

The ancient tragi-comedy of watching a hero reduced to a politician now begins with Eisenhower. The Chicago *Tribune* began emptying its garbage pails on him at once. Historians Morison and Commager in their *Growth of the American Republic* say:

> Since 1840, successful Presidential candidates [with the exception of Lincoln and the Roosevelts] have not been prominent and experienced statesmen, but military heroes, or relatively obscure men who have not had time to make enemies.

Ike's position on world affairs is well known and, contrasted to Taft, everlastingly right. Taft would weaken the grand alliance and (we think) help prepare the way for World War III. On domestic affairs Ike seems to many worshippers a myth not a man, a glamor-hero who would come to Washington to take the politics out of politics. Actually he would almost certainly take his coloration from the Eastern bankers who support him. We say this with fondest esteem for Ike, both as a man and as the war leader whom we were proud to claim as an American in London during the war. But on domestic matters we estimate Ike to be a comfortable conservative well to the right of the New Deal, an appraisal shared by most reporters who know him. Under Ike, for example, key government agencies—such as the Federal Power Commission, Communications Commission and Trade Commission—would (we think) tip finally to the big business side. Maybe the counter-revolution deserves its term after 20 years of liberalism: we know we shouldn't like it.

To the philosopher, the blunting of emotional reform jags is always an illuminating study. One of the great 1951 disasters was the Missouri flood. Again it showed the necessity for an integrated MVA. Now at last, many supposed, something will be done. Will it? People have pretty well forgotten the flood by now—all but the victims. Then again, 119 miners were killed at the recent West Frankfort, Ill., explosion where federal safety warnings were ignored. Congress wrote the regulations in 1947 after the terrible Centralia disaster where 111 miners died. But Congress carefully made federal safety findings advisory, not mandatory; it passed a law without teeth. Now, again, will it do anything? Unlikely. In each of

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these instances there was a sentimental surge of protest; a surge that was almost as strong, and as short-lived, as the excitement in reading about the tragedies.

With the casualness with which really great decisions are made, Alaska and Hawaii may soon become states of the Union at this session of Congress and the form of America's future expansion inextricably set. Ancient Rome made every territory, no matter how far distant, part of herself. In contrast, Britain evolved the system of making outside regions self-governing, autonomous commonwealths. Heedlessly, the US is approaching the great choice between modified forms of empire or commonwealths. By making distant Alaska and, above all, overseas Hawaii part of the local US Government with veto dispensing Senators in the Washington upper house, we are setting a precedent that could last 1,000 years.

Notes: Watching Churchill watch Truman give his State of the Union speech—delivered flatly and monotonously. . . . Once only, Truman cut through it; it was a careful, earnest appeal for national unity—a first-rate speech—delivered flatly and monotonously. . . . Once only, Truman cut loose from the prepared text; in no time at all he had his side of the aisle cheering. . . . One tax loop-hole needing to be plugged is that allowing corporations to deduct 70 percent of the cost of reactionary propaganda as "business expenses": the cost of sponsoring Fulton Lewis or newspaper ads attacking striking workers is deducted from taxes, i.e. paid for by you and me as taxpayers. . . . Friends of Truman speculate that he may stand for the Senate this year against isolationist Republican James Kem in Missouri and be a happy Septuagenarian elder statesman. . . . New York *Times'* support for Ike probably means that only one New York newspaper will back the Democratic Presidential candidate, the New York *Post*. . . . The overall GOP newspaper preponderance this year will probably reach 80-20; even the *Sun-Times* in Chicago has gone overboard before the Democratic convention.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

health" Professor Toynbee feels we can help the Soviet Union maintain—the "healthy" concentration camps, the "healthy" secret police, or simply the all-around robust "good health" which pervades the whole of Soviet society today.

But, then, perhaps one shouldn't put such pointed questions to the good Professor. It might be kinder to all concerned to let him return to the study of ancient civilizations, where he can theorize to his heart's content.

New York City LOUIS JAY HERMAN

No More Name Calling!

● The Soviet Union and its satellites have introduced into international relations a new method of negotiation, one whose sole medium is abuse, violent, unrestrained, brutal. The West, especially the United States, angered by this approach, has responded in kind. On both sides, the vocabulary of abuse has first been enlarged to the utmost limits, then exhausted by vain repetition.

This course inevitably builds up a road-block to success in negotiations that is powerless for good, powerful only for evil. No agreements are reached. But blood pressures on both sides are raised, enmities and fears are increased. As each battle of abuse has drawn to its frustrating end, each side has been impressed anew with the need to tighten its belt for living, to further increase its expenditures for death and destruction.

Bitter diatribes no longer impress or educate ourselves or our friends. Indeed, there are signs that the smaller nations are increasingly disturbed by the belligerent temper of the two leading antagonists, and are tending to blame us for the bitterness more than they blame the Soviet Union, perhaps because they believe they have a right to expect more moderation of us.

Therefore, it is suggested that, on our part, our spokesmen abandon altogether their reliance on abuse as an instrument of propaganda and of negotiation, and that we couch our proposals for an end to the Cold War in terms of reason and common sense. We need not fear that a more dispassionate approach to international problems by our statesmen will cause us to falter in rearmament. The Soviet Union can be depended on to irritate and frighten us quite enough both by their language and their conduct.

The resulting contrast between a calm and persuasive approach with the Soviet Union's screaming and brutally abusive retorts would be certain to be much in our favor among all peoples who listen to the great international debates. In time even the Iron Curtain could not conceal from the Kremlin the signs of rising disgust and resentment of all the world at its harsh and brutal distortion of the facts of an international world that can only remain at peace through accord.

If, as a result of our abstinence from insult, to any degree the Soviet Union should slacken its own vituperation in negotiations, there will then be some opportunity to make headway in negotiating at least some of the lesser problems that now divide the world into hostile camps. In the present temper of the times, the world has but two alternatives: negotiation or war. To make any headway whatever in negotiations, it is indispensable that the war of recrimination should be mitigated rather than intensified.

Regardless of Soviet Union tactics, the time has come to stop the name-calling on our side, to speak as we feel and are—friendly human beings who love peace.

Spokane, Wash. BENJAMIN H. KIZER

A New UMT

● I fear that we are laying too much stress on the educational value of TV. Although television has the attractiveness of novelty and entertainment it lacks the breadth and depth of well-chosen texts and the opportunity for deliberate contemplation afforded by the printed word. We concern ourselves altogether too much with easy and attractive methods of learning that do not call for the rigorous mental effort which is so necessary in preparing for rational living. . . .

Mechanical know-how is replacing cogent thinking, and the honored place of the scholar in our schools has been given over to the athlete and the engineer. Small wonder then that we are muddling our problems when the average citizen, skillful as he may be, is not competent in handling ideas.

I am acquainted with several young men who learned to run a tractor when they were eight or nine years old. Although they now possess high-school diplomas they are woefully lacking in the ability to read anything but elementary writing. Their early mechanical training may be of use to them on the battlefield, but they fall far short of understanding what leads to war or how war may be avoided.

. . . I propose a new kind of UMT, a Universal Mental Training. Our teachers, our doctors and lawyers, in fact all citizens, would profit by more intensive mental preparation. If we make more serious efforts to think straight we may some day avoid the necessity of learning how to shoot straight.

Halcott Center, N.Y. JACOB J. LEIBSON

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VOLUME 126, NUMBER 3, ISSUE 1938, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 21, 1952

New Republic

VISHINSKY'S NEW OFFER—TRANSFORMATION OR TRICK?

THE LATEST Russian proposals for atomic-energy control provide some assurance at least that the newly established UN Disarmament Commission will not be able at once to lapse into dogmatic slumber. Set up on January 11, it was handed on January 12 a great batch of homework and a formidable headache. The Commission had been instructed by the Assembly to consider atomic controls on the basis of the Baruch Plan—"unless a better or no less effective system is devised." Vishinsky's revised plan may not measure up to this standard, but it will be difficult to persuade open-minded men that the plan does not deserve the most careful study or that it fails to turn a fresh page in the negotiations. The prospect looms that policy-makers will have to think anew.

The full text of Vishinsky's statement is not available as this is being written, but the newspapers have reported adequately the principal Soviet innovations. A major concession is tendered on inspection, which is to be on a "continuing" basis; it is proposed, also, that the ban on atomic weapons go into effect simultaneously with the control system. It is important to realize that these proposals go to the heart of the differences between the Soviet and the UN Majority Plans, that they represent a radical change in the position held by the USSR as recently as six weeks ago. From the beginning the Western powers have contended that continuing inspection is the single indispensable element of an effective control arrangement. While yielding substantially on this issue, the Soviet Union has not hitherto been willing to accept inspection except on a stated and "periodic" schedule. It is this stand which has now been relinquished. Vishinsky's proviso that the international control organ "shall not be entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of states" does not appear to vitiate the concession. It strikes one in the nature of a face-saving expression; at any rate, if the condition has meaning at all, it is clear that we no more than the Russians would permit inspectors to "interfere" in *our* domestic affairs.

The ban on atomic weapons, as an initial step, has been denounced consistently by the US as a sham stratagem, designed to make the world relax its preparedness efforts while the Russians continued covertly to build their military strength. This is a plausible argument. Yet if only in the propaganda war it left us vulnerable to counter-attack. For the Russians pointed to the fact that they wanted to outlaw the bombs *now*; while the Western powers, waving a large legal document in the world's face, pointed to clause 77 as proof that they too would outlaw the bomb, at some indeterminate time—after the first 76 clauses had been complied with. Regardless of our unbroken string of voting victories in the UN, the Russians seemed to have us over a barrel on this question.

It has never been obvious why the Soviet and Western positions could not be reconciled. Ban first, control afterwards, did not perhaps make much sense; was it necessary, however, to insist on control first and ban afterwards? The storekeeper may insist on having a firm grasp of the customer's money in one hand before releasing the purchased goods held in the other, but it is difficult to conceive of the discharge of international agreements in the same cautious manner. It is possible, nevertheless, that the execution of *simultaneous* conventions permits of a solution of this troubled, vehemently debated and crucial issue. To be sure, Vishinsky has expressed himself only in the most general terms; it will not be easy to set up a framework within which the various problems of "staging," moratorium on production, disposal of existing stockpiles and so forth, can be settled—even theoretically. Yet if it may be permitted, in these special circumstances, to quote Lenin: "There is no situation from which there is absolutely no way out." It would not be unjust to say that until now the Soviet Union in its insistence on a preliminary ban on atom bombs has been both stupid and stubborn. Vishinsky's proposal evinces a change of attitude. We must act upon this change if we cannot prove it false.

The first news from abroad as to the reaction of US and British UN representatives to the Soviet offer is unfortunately not encouraging. Mr. Ernest Gross and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd seemed to feel they had been no less than affronted by the new Vishinsky plan. The Russians were promptly given to understand that their plan must not be permitted to disrupt the functioning of the Disarmament Commission (Gross); and that the Western powers could not accept a system of atomic limitations —however meritorious—"unless the Soviet Union agreed to the simultaneous reduction of armed forces and other armaments, in which it holds the lead," (Lloyd), Gross

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characterized the proposals as "double talk," then adding, "We don't really know yet what Vishinsky wants."

What is remarkable about these opinions is that they were delivered in the distinct idiom of rebuke. Since the Russians had not conceded everything, their concessions, it was implied, were worth nothing. This silliness is a sure sign not only that Western diplomats had not remotely anticipated the revision, but also that they are poignantly aware they cannot give it the brush-off. The question remains whether we intend following up this chance in the realm of technical disarmament discussion, and, more important exploiting in the political sphere the conciliatory disposition which may be thought to be behind it. There is given to us, in other words, the alternative of exploring a new avenue of agreement and thus, possibly, scoring a real victory in the UN, a victory for peace, or of administering another great ballot beating to the Russians. If we have not despaired entirely of avoiding the "war of all against all," there is no doubt what we ought to do.

TRUMAN AND CHURCHILL—WHAT DID THEY ACHIEVE?

THE JOINT statement which summed up the Truman-Churchill conference was, surely, one of the least inspired that the old master of drama and rhetoric ever signed. If nothing more than this was accomplished at the conference, then, though it was not a failure, it was certainly a disappointment.

The two governments discussed tension in the Middle East. They agreed to support the European army. They planned a larger transfer of steel to British industries. They made it clear that if the war spreads in Indo-China, it will not spread through lack of warning.

Yet these are specific, short-range problems which arise in part from a long-range, general crisis—the ebbing away of a world power which until now has borne a large share of the burden of enforcing peace. There is no recognition of this threat in the bland assurances and firm resolutions of Truman and Churchill. Nor is there any recognition of the plight of the British people. In terms of a true appraisal of future tasks the conference was less constructive and up-to-date than Truman's conference with Attlee of two years ago. The recommendations of that conference were promptly forgotten. No new thinking has developed. Truman and Acheson are taking a superficial and complacent view of Britain's profound crisis. Churchill is grasping at the outward symbols of prestige while the solid substance of power is fast slipping away beneath his feet.

Britain has never been in greater economic danger than today, in the third and gravest of her postwar economic crises. Nearly a billion dollars of her final reserves went to meet the Sterling Area's deficit in the last quarter of 1951. During this period Britain has fallen deeper into debt with the sterling nations, while the Sterling Area has fallen increasingly out of balance with the dollar area, with Continental Europe, and with the rest of the world. The administrative remedies proposed and taken by the Tories are brave gestures, but no solutions.

This continuing crisis has developed during years in which Britain has scaled down her overseas commitments, America has transferred $6.1 billion to Britain in aid, and the British people have both driven themselves beyond endurance and suffered hardship in austerity and high taxes which cannot continue without destroying the underlying strength and spirit of the nation.

Can the Sterling Area be maintained alone? It possesses no central monetary mechanism capable of coordinating the economic policies of its members, and Britain can no longer undertake this role. The hard currency earners of the Sterling Area are unwilling to let Britain check their dollar imports, and are bound to Britain by cultural, not economic ties. But even if the Sterling Area can be saved from breaking up by better management it will be necessary to increase enormously the level of Britain's dollar earnings if the standards and rate of progress British citizens demand are to be attained. So far, the trade promotion programs both nations have tried are insignificant and useful only to indicate the need for a wholly new approach.

That approach is union, permanent change that will permit producers in Britain, the Commonwealth and the US to undertake the basic readjustments that are necessary. It is evidently not an approach that Churchill wishes to discuss with a caretaker administration in Washington. Nor is it an approach that Truman believes will win votes in 1952. Election years are traditionally times in which hard facts are suppressed and real issues ignored. Fortunately, however, in Eisenhower the Republicans have one candidate who is likely to be outspoken on these matters; Estes Kefauver, who has led the fight here for Atlantic Union, would have the insight to shape the needed program if he should be the Democratic nominee. In the event of a contest between them, the real issue might for once be presented clearly.

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THE WEEK

TRUMAN AND THE VATICAN

President Truman's decision not to resubmit to the Senate the nomination of Gen. Mark W. Clark as Ambassador to the Vatican forestalls what would have been one of the bitterest fights in modern Congressional history. The Protestant Churches were organized to make every ounce of their influence count in the voting on confirmation.

A letter-writing campaign of opposition to the appointment, directed by the Protestants, flooded the offices on Capitol Hill during the Congressional recess. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee which initially passes on all such nominations has received more mail on this question than on any other single foreign-policy issue in recent years—and that includes the UN Charter, Acheson and the Chinese Communists, and the MacArthur firing. More than 50,000 letters have come into the Committee, and staff assistants estimate that scarcely more than 50 of the 50,000 were in favor of sending an Ambassador to the Vatican.

Foreign Relations Chairman Tom Connally (D, Tex.), perhaps mindful of this popular expression, had summoned a press conference to broaden his previous position of opposition to the Clark appointment on purely personal grounds just the day before the President officially withdrew the General's name. Connally flatly declared that he was now opposed to the sending of any Ambassador at all to the Vatican. Probably it was this firm warning, added to the violent Protestant opposition, that finally changed the President's mind.

The President's official statement declares that he intends to submit another nomination later. It is to be hoped that this is merely a face-saving remark. Those who opposed his original proposal from sincere principles will continue to be opposed whoever may be appointed. Bishop Henry Knox Campbell, of the National Council for the Churches of Christ in America, expresses the feelings of millions beyond his own membership in saying:

> It has caused religious controversy at a time when national unity is needed and, if pressed, will do so increasingly. The happiest solution would be to hear no more about this unwise proposal.

CORRUPTION CLEANUP

President Truman's decision to give the job of cleaning up corruption in the federal government to the Department of Justice is tantamount to reappointing Howard McGrath as Attorney General. Presumably McGrath will now be expected to run the Justice Department instead of merely occupying a chair there awaiting elevation to the Supreme Court. It is to be hoped that this responsibility will make him more familiar with the decisions and actions of his subordinates than his testimony before the King Investigating Committee last December indicated that he had been in the past.

In an auspicious beginning, the Attorney General has ordered each one of the 93 United States Attorneys to call special grand juries to look into activities of racketeers, gangsters and organized crime syndicates in his district. The federal DAs will ask the government's investigative agencies, such as the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the US Secret Service, Bureau of Customs, Alcohol Tax Unit, Intelligence Unit of the Internal Revenue Bureau and Post Office Inspectors to come before these blue-ribbon grand juries and tell all they know about corruption, "fixes" and crime. The grand juries will then look into complaints placed before them. Where the grand-jury system has functioned unhampered, the results have been impressive. It was the St. Louis grand jury and its investigation of the Lithofold Corporation and William Finnegan that gave the Internal Revenue Bureau scandals the telling shove into public limelight.

Experts advance arguments for and against this method of cleansing the federal government of corruption. Some say there is no more effective nor democratic broom than the aroused ire of citizens impaneled as a grand jury. They are closer to the tax dollar and more curious about its use than any top-level Presidential committee might be. Others say grand juries, even effective ones, lack the dramatic punch of a Presidential committee; that their effectiveness is limited because federal enforcement agencies and private citizens appearing before them are not likely to present evidence that will snare a top official such as Caudle and that consequently this method of cleanup will not reach high enough into officialdom. Even so, grand-jury operations in just 50 percent of the 93 federal districts could make top government seats very warm.

HEAL THYSELF

The American Medical Association has plunged itself deeper into politics despite the fact that its past activities against any form of national health insurance brought more criticism than support. The AMA's recent refusal to cooperate with President Truman's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation places the doctor membership in a rather embarrassing position for so altruistic a profession. Dr. John W. Cline, president of AMA, charging that the Commission is "political," spearheaded the resignation of Dr. Gunnar Gundersen of LaCrosse, Wis., from the group only a few days after he accepted the Presidential appointment. The action took place in the AMA's usual dictatorial manner, without any attempt to poll the membership for its views on the subject. Actually, the President's Commission is strictly non-partisan—headed by Dr. Paul B. Magnuson, the former medical director of the Veterans Administration and a Republican who has frequently expressed opposition to compulsory medical health insurance. Moreover, the report to be submitted by the Commission, which meets for the first

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time on January 14, is not due until the end of this year, after the November election. And the Commission has been asked only to study the health needs of the country and to recommend ways for improving the distribution of health facilities and the availability of medical care. When the President appointed the Commission, he issued no detailed directive, but simply stated:

> The provision of adequate health care for all of our population must be a matter of national, as well as local concern. It is particularly important that in this day of world crisis we should seek to limit the drain upon our strength through illness and death.

A. J. Hayes, president of the AFL Machinists Union and a member of the Commission, charged that "for representatives of the AMA to inject politics into this Commission before it has even met appears to me to smack of the most heartless politics the country has ever witnessed. There's an old saying which applies to this charge of politics against the President's Commission. It is: 'Physician, heal thyself'."

It is increasingly evident that the AMA is gearing itself for an even more potent fight in the 1952 campaign. Openly supporting candidate Robert A. Taft for President, the AMA's public-relations team, Whitaker and Baxter, are master-minding Congressional election campaigns with the hope that they can defeat a few more liberals this year.

LOEB AND *RED CHANNELS*

On Monday evening, February 4, "The Goldbergs" will reappear on television for the first time since last spring. Viewers of NBC-TV that night may detect a note of sadness in the popular comedy program of Jewish humor—Philip Loeb, who so aptly played the part of soft-spoken Pa (Jake) Goldberg, has left the family. The choice was not his own; nor did Ma (Molly) Goldberg, played by Gertrude Berg who runs the show, ask him for a "divorce." He was dropped solely because his name appeared in *Red Channels*, now being used by many sponsors as the unofficial blacklist for actors. It is reported that some 20 potential sponsors refused to take the program because Gertrude Berg insisted that Loeb remain in the cast. Finally, with great misgivings, she decided not to renew his contract. The American Vitamin Corporation then bought the Monday night show and NBC is now negotiating for another company to sponsor it on Wednesday and Friday nights.

Loeb's dismissal brought immediate action by Television Authority, the new TV actors union, which has promised him a hearing. Loeb, like many others in the theatre and arts group, has taken part in, and lent his name to, a number of liberal causes. *Red Channels*, which lists Loeb alphabetically between strip-teaser Gypsy Rose Lee and songstress Ella Logan, censors him for signing several petitions on civil liberties and for "sponsoring" a Committee to End Jim Crow in Baseball (1945), the Progressive Citizens of America (1947) and a Stop Censorship Committee (1948), to name a few. In a letter to Television Authority and to Actors Equity, the American Civil Liberties Union warns: "Action toward Loeb is one more instance of the growing trend toward making political opinion rather than competent performance the criterion for employment in the radio-TV field."

Loeb, like other actors who have received similar treatment, will have a difficult time getting back into show business even if he is completely cleared at the hearing. He no longer has a contract and most sponsors will continue to use *Red Channels* as the gospel.

FRANCO FOR TAFT

Francisco Franco, the Spanish statesman, has come out in support of the Presidential candidacy of the world leader from Ohio, Sen. Robert A. Taft. In a remarkable January 9 broadcast beamed to America, Radio Madrid named Taft as the logical man to oppose the Truman Administration. As regards Eisenhower, the Franco commentator said that "one cannot deny that genuine Republicans are right in opposing his candidacy." He charged that Eisenhower would be "like Truman in his foreign policy." For Franco this means, despite recent developments, a more restrained attitude toward Spain than is advocated by Taft, who has said that Spain should be our main base in Europe. Radio Madrid even presented Taft with a campaign slogan fashioned along the lines of Fascist semantics. "True Republicans," it cried, "want a fight, violence.

PRACTICAL CO-OPS

AKRON, OHIO (NR Corresp.)

During the first days of high prices after World War II, factory workers in Akron, Ohio, initiated action to meet the threats to their living standards. Next month these plans will have concretely materialized, and appropriate festivities will open the largest urban consumer co-operative enterprise in the US—a half-billion dollar operation called Co-operative Enterprises of Akron.

Streamlined to the latest architectural designs, and organized and developed largely by trade-union workers in the area, the co-op will consist of a supermarket of eight cash registers, a gas station and a shopping center, including a drugstore and a clothing store.

Over 3,500 individuals have purchased stock at $25 a share, some paying at the rate of $1 a week. Some have tossed their entire savings into the plan, as, for instance, a woman worker at the Firestone Tire Company who purchased 100 shares and called it "the best investment I could make today." Chairman of the board is W. H. Tidrick, a worker at Goodyear. Board members consist of telephone and brewery workers as well as rubber workers and non-union co-operative-minded citizens.

In accordance with co-operative principles, the stores will charge comparable prices with other businesses in the area but with rebates remitted to shareholders periodically. The chain stores have already reacted to the competition and since announcement of the location, new Kroger and Acme stores have been set up and are in operation.

For a manager, the co-op reached all the way to Racine, Wisconsin, to get professional co-op manager, H. J. Choat.

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"The problem with old, urban co-ops," he told the *New Republic,* "is that they were built mostly on idealism. You built a small, co-operative corner grocery store, and you were supposed to buy there because it was a co-op and it was the right thing to do. Now in Akron we are doing it right. We are building a unit sufficiently large to compete with the best the A&Ps and Krogers have to offer. We think we have an economic power which can adequately serve the workers, practically as well as idealistically."

"LOYALTY" IN PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA, PA. (NR Corresp.)

When State Sen. Albert R. Pechan a Republican from Pennsylvania's semi-rural Armstrong County (population 80,000) introduced his "loyalty" bill into the legislature on January 15, 1951, friend and foe alike predicted speedy approval for this fashionable piece of "anti-subversive" legislation. It was written by an ambitious young assistant attorney general, Robert L. Kunzig, who is trying to build a political career on red-baiting and investigating relief scandals. Sponsored by the American Legion and the VFW, it was submitted to a legislature which, even measured by the yardsticks of the Grundy empire, has hit a new low of incompetence and irresponsibility.

What happened to the bill during the 11 months of its slow passage through the upper and lower houses at Harrisburg may give the defenders of our basic civil liberties in an age of hysteria solid reasons for pride and cheers. The bill, as finally adopted, remains a superfluous and ineffectual piece of demagogic legislation.

Under the Pechan Bill some 277,000 public employees in Pennsylvania—including all school teachers—will be required to sign a loyalty oath. Originally, the faculties of all state-aided colleges and universities were included in this group. Spearheaded by the chapters of the American Association of University Professors, the academic profession across the state rose in a body to oppose this plan. A dozen university and college presidents, including Harold Stassen of the University of Pennsylvania and Milton Eisenhower of Penn State, testified against this section. It was finally replaced by a provision requiring state-aided institutions of higher education to submit annually to the Governor a report on what measures they have taken to prevent the employment of subversive persons on their staffs.

Anybody refusing to sign the loyalty oath is subject to immediate dismissal. Present employees are to be dismissed if "the fair preponderance of evidence" shows that they are "subversive persons" or "knowingly members of a subversive organization." Applicants for public employment may not be hired if there is "reasonable doubt" that they are subversive. Teacher organizations, notably the American Federation of Teachers, AFL, pointed out early during the fight that Pennsylvania has had adequate legislation on the books since 1941 to force subversives off the public payroll. They succeeded in eliminating from the original draft the "reasonable doubt" clause for present employees and writing into the bill provisions requiring charges of disloyalty to be put in writing and permitting appeals to the courts against the decisions of the State Civil Service Commission and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Credit for having forced the sponsors of this bill virtually to rewrite it twice and to eliminate its worst features belongs to a wide variety of organizations, including church groups, the AFL and the CIO, the recently reorganized American Civil Liberties Union in Eastern Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Chapter of Americans for Democratic Action, the Jewish Community Relations Council and the NAACP. The Philadelphia *Inquirer* and *Evening Bulletin* and the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* campaigned vigorously against the bill throughout the year. Former Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts and Philadelphia's District Attorney-Elect Richardson Dilworth led the constitutional attack on the bill. While failing in their efforts to prevent passage of the bill altogether, these united forces succeeded in arousing a new devotion to our basic freedoms to such an extent that Pechan's victory may well turn out to be a Pyrrhic one.

WILL MAO MOVE SOUTH?

Indo-China has for some time been replacing Korea as the chief concern of Western military strategists in charge of Far Eastern trouble-spots. Their fear is that open Chinese intervention in the "civil war" on the side of Ho Chi-minh's Communist forces will overwhelm the strong points on which the French have been hinging their holding action, opening the way for Communist seizure of power in all of Southeast Asia. Their fears have been heightened by a speech recently made by Andrei Vishinsky in the United Nations in which he spoke of a time when "events begin to take their course on the southern borders of China, in Thailand, Burma and Yunnan province."

In Indo-China and Malaya the French currently have 200,000 and the British 100,000 troops which do little more than continue the fruitless campaign against the guerrilla groups. Since these forces have their hands full now, they can hardly be expected to stand up against a well-organized Chinese invasion, not to speak of helping weak Burma and Thailand to defend themselves.

The urgency of the problem was highlighted last week by the visit to Washington of Gen. Pierre Alphonse Juin, who urged the US for more aid for the defense of Indo-China. The late Gen. Jean de Lattre de Tassigny also wanted more US aid. Since the US is already contributing huge amounts of military material, some observers have felt that only the sending of American troops can serve to shift the balance. But politically-minded US military men point out that the unpopularity of the Indo-Chinese war has forced the French themselves to prohibit the sending of draftees to that theatre. While almost granting the French point that Indo-China should receive the same sort of world support as was given in Korea, they ask: How can the US send its drafted GIs to a French colony where French politicians are afraid to let their own conscripts tread? Such are the dilemmas of leadership, reply the Europeans.

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Outside America

MOVING TOWARD UNITY

Of the Old World—of the Europe that clings to a dead past—it can finally be said at the start of 1952, as Galileo said three centuries ago of the earth itself: "Eppur si muove." The idea of Western European unification is definitely moving along. Of course, doubts, divisions and difficulties remain. Nevertheless, there is far less of the resistance that during most of the last year kept the rank and file of public opinion from accepting the inevitability of change. Above all, there is less of what the Europeans call dynamic immobilism—an emotional refusal to face facts, as powerful as any religious dogmatism.

In effect, the hard core of any Western European unity—whether by federation or by coalition—must be a working partnership between France and Germany. Hence, if the plans of the statesmen are to be put into practical effect, they must have the support of public opinion in those two countries. And if—as now seems possible—this may really be the year of a start toward overcoming some of the practical difficulties that have delayed unity, one of the reasons is the effect on French public opinion of the vote of confidence which the National Assembly gave Premier René Pleven on the Schuman Plan.

The symbolic and psychological value of his success can scarcely be exaggerated. It came at precisely the time when a series of events combined to reinforce doubts about the wisdom of France's taking the practical lead toward unity. The Rome Conference of NATO called attention to the reservations of the small Western European countries. The official British and Belgian attitudes at the Strassburg meeting of the Council of Europe, so discouraging to Paul-Henri Spaak that he resigned his office soon thereafter, had a bad effect in France too.

The French noticed German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer's professed eagerness, but they paid greater attention to Kurt Schumacher and the neo-Nazis who did not share his enthusiasm. Even in Italy, the source of the concept of "Christian Europe" which was one of the first (and still is one of the most favored) blueprints for European unity, the rise of Prince Valerio Borghese to leadership of the neo-Fascists cast some doubt on the practical validity of Premier Alcide de Gasperi's enthusiastic assent.

And, at home in France, the attacks of Gen. Charles de Gaulle seemed to assure the *coup de grace* both to the Schuman and to the Pleven Plans. It was the general feeling that even if Pleven won by a narrow margin, the future would be de Gaulle's.

But it did not work out that way. The fashion in which Pleven carried the Schuman Plan through the Assembly showed that he was not only a first-rate statesman but also an excellent political manipulator of French public opinion. He got a parliamentary body, full of intricate cross-currents and shady intrigues, to come out almost boldly in favor of France's taking the first step toward European unity by skillfully exploiting his enemies' weapons against them. He gave de Gaulle the worst defeat he has suffered since he started his attempted return to power by a successful appeal to the founts of French feeling that the General usually taps.

Jacques Soustelle, who is one of de Gaulle's spokesmen in the Assembly, made much of the danger of loss of national sovereignty and independence. He said that the Schuman Plan, the Pleven Plan for the European Army, and the "green pool" (approved in principle at Strassburg) for European agricultural co-operation would merely "build the first fortress of an irresponsible technocracy in the service of certain interests. He did not explain what he meant by "certain interests," but the Communists gave their versions. They accused the government team—Pleven, Schuman and Monnet—of doing the bidding of these arch-conspirators, Harriman and David Bruce, and that French industry would be put at the beck and call of the American capitalists and of their German protégés.

Pleven met head-on all of the opposition's appeals to French pride, to French national interest, and, most important, to the material interests of ordinary French men and women. The French are, perhaps more than any other people in Continental Western Europe, bitter about their comedown in the world; a psychiatrist might say that they are especially sensitive and resentful about their present position of dependence because they have a sense of guilt—they know how much they participate in the responsibility for their plight. Pleven argued, therefore, that though France could not yet be independent, it could get for itself the lion's share in the making of a larger political unity which would eventually be independent.

"A continent," he said, "cannot depend permanently on the help of another continent across an ocean." One of the pleas by which he overcame the opposition and impressed public opinion was that European unity, though a favored goal of American policy at the moment, was the only possible means by which the France-led new Europe could achieve its independence from America. One by one, he played on the notes that have emotional resonance among the French, as a people or as adherents of the political Right or Left.

Coal is scarce and dear in France now. So Pleven told how the Germans, now sending less coal to France than in 1949, would, under the Schuman Plan, give more and at lower prices.

The French fear that Germany must inevitably dominate a federated Europe; the French Left fears the Schuman Plan may help the cartels. Pleven gave reassurances on both points.

The theme of both material and lofty benefits to France and its people, as the result of a European federation, ran subtly through Pleven's arguments; and the French parliament and people moved toward the acceptance of the idea as they had never moved before. The dynamic immobilism of the French will not be what it was before Pleven's victory.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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A PYRAMID CLUB FOR PROFITEERS

by Jean Begeman

WHILE NEWSPAPER headlines have been filled with stories of corruption in the tax department, some involving sums as low as a few hundred dollars, an investigation of business profiteers who have overcharged the government nearly $306 million during the past three years has gone unreported or mentioned briefly on the inside pages of the largest dailies. Without any of the fanfare of televised hearings or big press conferences, a diligent group of House members and a small committee staff have documented the story of how middlemen, "fly-by-night" firms, five-percenters, and a lax procurement office have pyramided profits for the automotive industry.

Last spring a House subcommittee, headed by Rep. Porter Hardy Jr. (D, Va.), began a routine examination of Army procurement methods after receiving reports that the government was paying exorbitant prices for automotive-equipment parts. By midsummer, the committee staff had uncovered enough information to bring about the removal of a brigadier-general as commanding officer of the Ordnance Tank Automotive Center in Detroit for having accepted hospitality from defense contractors. By last month, the committee staff had thoroughly investigated hundreds of contracts between the government and business firms and, at open hearings in Detroit, Mich., presented 18 case studies to show the pattern of profiteering now going on.

Edward P. Schaffer, a young, energetic committee investigator, deserves much of the credit for bringing out the facts to show that the government has paid excessive prices for automotive parts on vital defense equipment by dealing with "middlemen" such as Chrysler, General Motors and the Studebaker Corporation, who purchase the parts from basic-source manufacturers and sell them to the government at a profit.

For example, in the case of a certain Army order from Chrysler, the automotive part was actually manufactured by the Tropicaire Company at a cost of $23.24 and sold to Chrysler for $33.74. The government had to pay Chrysler $51.95 for the part since Chrysler's was the only bid received in response to 70 invitations sent out from the Army's ordnance center. Often, Schaffer points out, the basic-source manufacturer, in this case Tropicaire, either refuses to bid (primarily because he is afraid of losing his largest distributor, Chrysler, if he should obtain the government contract) or submits a bid in excess of what he knows will be necessary to secure the award. In addition, there is a fleet of five-percenters in this field whose fees in many cases have unnecessarily increased the procurement cost to the government.

In its 18 case studies, the committee found that the total basic-source manufacturing cost of the items involved was $3.7 million. The price paid by the government for them was $6.3 million—a 40-percent markup. Even adding a liberal 10 percent for profit, 10 percent for packaging and five percent excise tax to the manufacturing costs, the government overpaid 25 percent of the total outlay, Schaffer revealed. "Application of this percentage to the total automotive parts procurement program for 1949, 1950 and 1951 indicates that the government paid out in the form of additional costs and the pyramided profits the staggering sum of $305,507,749."

In 1944, the Special Committee Investigating the National Defense Program (commonly known as the Truman Committee) made a study of Army procurement policy. At that time Brig.-Gen. Walter P. Boatwright, then Chief of Ordnance at Detroit, admitted that reliance upon automobile manufacturers for spare parts has been fundamental War Department policy since 1916. He remarked that "over the years there has been a gradual lessening. . . . For the past seven months, April to October, 1944, 59 percent of the spare parts were purchased from unit manufacturers. . . 41 percent from vehicle manufacturers. . . ." Little, if any, progress along this line has been made by the Army Ordnance Department during the past seven years, according to the Hardy Committee. A study of 1,203 contracts let by the Ordnance Tank and Automotive Center from January to March, 1951, shows that 47.4 percent (or 58 percent of the dollar volume) of contracts were awarded to automobile assemblers and dealers rather than to the actual producers of the parts.

While the committee was investigating this phase of the question, the staff discovered many "fly-by-night" outfits springing up in the Detroit area. "Many were employing five-percenters, and others possessed little or no plant or equipment," said Schaffer, "but they were participating to a considerable extent in the automotive-parts program." In a survey of 266 cases, the committee found that the Army had neglected to send an examiner to check whether or not a contractor "even had a plant" in one-third of the cases; in 90 percent of the cases, the Army did not bother to check the financial standing of the companies with which it was doing

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business (and 21 of the concerns were simply "myths"; nine were paying five-percenters to get business).

One of the most flagrant cases brought out in the Detroit hearing involved George F. Day, who left his $6,200-a-year job as an ordnance inspector one year ago to become a "manufacturers' agent." As such, he receives $20,000 a year *plus* commission on certain subcontracts from two companies—the Macomb Auto Supply Company of Mount Clemens, Mich., and the Piston Service Company of Detroit. Hugo Kuschewski, president of Macomb Auto (which has no production facilities of its own), testified that he hadn't attempted to get government business until he hired Day.

Another five-percenter, Sam S. Willis, attempted to convince the committee members present at the hearing —Hardy, George Meader (R, Mich.), Richard Bolling (D, Mo.), Walter Riehlman (R, N.Y.) and Clare Hoffman (R, Mich.)—that manufacturers' agents were performing a great service and were not to be classified as "influence peddlers." He reasoned that they have the "know-how" to subcontract and supervise production. However, he had to admit that the majority of the eight firms he represents do none of the manufacturing in their own plants.

One of the greatest disappointments in government procurement of vehicle parts has been in the use of advertised bids, normally the most acceptable procedure. The committee found that the advertising-for-bids method of procurement amounts to "nothing more than a farce when legitimate competition does not exist." In the 18 case studies, involving 239 items, the Army sent out 8,993 invitations to bid (an average of 37.6 per item). In response, only 792 bids were received (an average of 3.31 per item), and in many cases only one firm filed any bid, thus naming the price the government would have to pay.

"In this connection," Schaffer said, "we have instances where parts manufacturers bid inordinately high (such as Hercules Motor Corporation and Timken-Detroit Axle Company); and we have the unqualified type of bidder (such as Jefferson and Grissom Chevrolet Companies, and 'dummy' outfits who subcontract all of the business) who should not be in the picture at all."

Parts manufacturers, in peacetime and in periods of mobilization, are dependent upon the big automotive companies for the bulk of their business. Although invited to bid on government contracts, they usually refuse so that they won't be forced to compete with their bread-and-butter bosses. At least some segments of the automotive industry rely on their inflated government bids to up their profits. Industry witness Earl J. Bush, president of the Diamond T Motor Car Company of Chicago, admitting that truck builders and parts manufacturers worked together to prevent the Army from being supplied direct from the source, said:

> In 1949, Diamond T would have been in the red but for spare parts. . . . The parts business, with organizations such as ours, is the most highly profitable end of the business, subject to less fluctuations. . . . Ever since I have been with the Diamond T Motor Car Company, we have always insisted that the parts manufacturers have a parts policy which would enable us to live. I will be absolutely honest with you: I don't think we could live as a manufacturer without the parts business. The dealers couldn't live and we couldn't live. We might as well face it. . . .

His remark brought a flash of anger from Representative Hoffman who charged: "Keep on talking like that and you'll have some ammunition for the Federal Trade Commission boys, and we'll wind up having the government create an agency to assemble trucks."

Because there are usually only one or two bids on an item, the contractor gets the business at whatever price his conscience permits him to bid. "On one contract of approximately $180,000," Schaffer recalled, "Metro Engineering Company subcontracted the entire work, having no direct labor charge whatever, and realized gross profit of approximately $50,000, although Metro representatives attempted to prove that the profit was considerably less." The Jefferson Chevrolet Company and P. L. Grissom and Sons of Detroit, both retail Chevrolet dealers, sold the Army Studebaker parts at higher than the retail-list price, the committee discovered. The government ordered one standard Studebaker part, manufactured in South Bend, Ind., at a cost of $4.04. It was sold to the government by the Grissom Company for $18.35, although the list price across the counter of any Studebaker dealer was $12.50. "The procurement path disclosed by the analysis has too many tollgates."

There are many other such cases: The president of the Troy, Ohio, Sunshade Company (a source manufacturer) testified that his firm did not bid on windshields for military vehicles at the request of the Federal Motor Truck Company of Detroit. A manufacturer of electrical equipment—Electric Autolite Company of Toledo—purposely bid high, 55 cents, on an item which it sold to Chrysler for 21 cents; Chrysler resold the item to the Army for 33 cents, a 12-cent markup that safely underbid the source manufacturer.

What can be done about these pyramiding profiteers?

The Hardy Committee expects to summarize its findings in a report early next month. As minimum protection the recommendations certainly should include:

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● Careful review of the actions of purchasing officials in the Army Ordnance Tank and Automotive Center to be sure that there is no collusion between government procurement officers and automotive contractors. Before Brig.-Gen. David L. Crawford was removed last July, he was asked to testify before the committee in Washington. He arranged to stay at the Congressional Hotel in a suite paid for by Ray Middleton, Washington representative of the Continental Foundry in East Chicago; General Crawford's two top civilian aides stayed at the Windsor Park Hotel as guests of the MACK Motor Company of Allentown, Pa. Last week Secretary of the Army Frank Pace Jr. informed Representative Hardy that administrative action had been taken against Crawford, reducing him to the rank of Colonel and assigning him to the military mission in Turkey.

● Tighter procedures to assure the placement of government contracts in the hands of reputable manufacturers.

● A stronger procurement policy that would encourage smaller firms to bid. The government should make every attempt to secure bids from parts manufacturers rather than from the distributors.

● Prosecution by the Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission, now reviewing at least two of the cases (Troy Sunshade and Federal Motor Truck), of any violations brought to light by the Committee.

LOUISIANA SIDE-SHOW

by Irving Ferman

A WHIRLWIND gubernatorial campaign is under way in Louisiana which may produce some strong, clear evidence of the present dominant forces in Deep South politics. Eight candidates are in the race. And the field is so split at the moment that no fewer than five of these candidates are conceded a gambler's chance of winning. As for the other three, something closer to a miracle would be required. And it is already significant that the Dixiecrat candidate is among these three. A runoff primary between the two leaders will be held on February 19.

All this, of course, will take place within the framework of the state Democratic Party—though ironically the chief strategy of leading candidates is to stick the other fellow or avoid getting stuck with the Truman label. On the issue of Truman, at least, these Democrats use much the same language as did Senator Taft on his recent visit here. The national administration and the Dixiecrats have discredited one another—and themselves—so far as vote-getting is concerned. This pattern, now obvious in the Louisiana race, emerged also in general terms in the recent gubernatorial campaign in Mississippi. It should be understood, however, that it is the slogans rather than the principles of these programs which have lost their "oomph." For unquestionably there are many thousands of Louisiana voters—perhaps even a decisive number—who will go to the polls to vote for the candidate they deem the most likely to back social welfare and foreign-policy legislation close to the Roosevelt-Truman mainstream. And there are other thousands—Dixiecrats at heart on major issues—who will by-pass their own natural candidate, a woman contender, and scatter their votes among the other candidates who are conceded a better chance of winning.

The Louisiana campaign has produced one spectacular effort to adapt McCarthyism to the cane and cotton country. It didn't work. The attacker was Leander Perez, multi-millionaire oil man and national Dixiecrat leader. The target was Rep. Hale Boggs, who appears to have the best chance of beating the Long administration's candidate for Governor. Boggs, who has mildly supported some Fair Deal measures in Congress, has nevertheless always numbered wealthy entrenched New Orleans interests among his chief supporters. The effort to label him a "Communist" was no less fantastic than McCarthy's successful onslaught on conservative Senator Tydings. Perez's chief ammunition consisted of photostats of college-boy, anti-Wall Street editorials from the Tulane University paper during Boggs editorship more than 15 years ago: items written in the spirit and language of the depression years. A weird hearing was held before the state Democratic committee. Gov. Earl Long, not in sympathy with the Perez attack, stole the show with his wisecracks that would have done credit to his brother, Huey.

Perez, a ruthless and effective politician in behind-the-scenes maneuvers, is a dud as a public personality. A Huey Long could have given McCarthy lessons in audacious lying. And this state, with Huey's high standards of demagoguery still strong in memory, more or less yawned in the face of glowering "Judge" Perez. Besides that, Boggs is a practising Catholic, an able Representative and a consummate politician from his student days. Leading conservative figures rushed to his defense. Perez, moreover, made one mistake never committed by McCarthy. He appealed the Democratic Committee's decision—which ruled Boggs not a Communist or sympathizer—to the courts. And there, con-

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fronted by the rules of evidence, "Judge" Perez offered no supporting witnesses and attempted to prove his charges by cross-examining Boggs. Perez was trounced.

The bookies who are still in business have made Earl Long's handpicked candidate the favorite—though many in the state, including bookies, have not learned to pronounce his name. But obscurity is no insuperable handicap to a candidate backed by Earl and the $50-a-month old-age-pension vote. This candidate is youthful, clean-cut Carlos Spaht, who resigned as circuit judge to make the race. Spaht, a recent past-commander of the state American Legion, was once an anti-Long man—until favoring winds blew from that quarter. Now, with few exceptions, Louisianans look through young Spaht as through a glass darkly, and see Earl Long face to face.

Another leading candidate, rated in the betting odds behind Spaht and Boggs, is Long's towering, country-boy Lieutenant-Governor, Bill Dodd. Long accuses Dodd of trying to grab the Governorship when Long was ill. Dodd is promising everything—and lining up with various hard-eyed operators who have quit the Long camp. Judge Robert Kennon, another candidate, almost beat the Long forces twice on a reform ticket, but has lost much of his following to Boggs or to a banker candidate, James McLemore. The die-hard financial interests are with McLemore—feeling that Boggs, whom they sometimes supported, might be a Truman man in disguise, despite his denunciations. Candidate "Uncle" Dudley LeBlanc, the French-speaking Cajun humorist, has sold millions of bottles of Hadacol to trusting Louisianans, but experts don't give him much chance for the Governorship.

Gov. Earl Long, who dominates the picture, is a fabulous figure. Many old ward-heelers rate him Huey's superior in the politics demanded by this era. Huey rose to power in a chaotic period, favoring bold adventurers, and indulging their contempt for legality and accepted methods. Earl is different. He is a brilliant, tireless organization man. Huey attracted the crowds, but Earl goes among them. He holds in memory the detailed workings of his parish (county) and city machines throughout the state. He distributes patronage with a precise, personal knowledge of the votes to be gained. Even at the close of his term—and forbidden by law to succeed himself—his controlled legislature snaps out his patronage legislation like a factory. He is motivated partly by a rivalry with Huey's ghost. He too wants to be remembered as a "friend of the people." And some of his fondest plans for the people, says Earl, remain unfinished. He attempted two fantastic schemes to remain in office—one of which would have required a rewrite of the state constitution. Huey's son, Sen. Russell Long, who was given a mighty boost into office by Earl's vote-getting and vote-counting machinery, has broken with Earl and is now exposing these schemes in resounding moral tones from the stump. Russell is backing Boggs. So is Mayor "Chep" Morrison of New Orleans. They appear to have thrown in together as a sort of "Young Turk" movement. They are still in their thirties. Earl is old, and has had one severe heart attack. The future, this triumvirate has decided, belongs to youth.

Long's $50 old-age pension—in a state with masses of poor farming, fishing, clerking and laboring families at the base of the economic pyramid—is unquestionably the most liberal single legislative fragment in the Deep South states. It has relieved somewhat the old-age hardships of many thousands, including the Negroes. But Louisiana's revenue picture is far from liberal. Last year $150 million of the $262 million revenue total came from sales taxes; $20 million came from corporate and $12 million from property taxes. So part of the pensions and other welfare payments are scooped back over the grocery counters—a penny, for example, on each loaf of bread. Millions are dispersed, or squandered, on roads, jobs and patronage projects; but the situation is not so notorious under Earl as it was under Huey Long. Louisianans pay the highest tax rate in the country: $97.66 per capita, compared with a national average of $59.59. Yet the Long machine, inefficiently and wastefully, gives the average poor citizen a better break than have the rival "reform" and "good government" elements, whose chief objectives have been low taxes and minimum social-welfare programs. No amount of academic analysis has ever convinced the rural masses otherwise. It is significant also that neither Earl nor Huey Long linked his machine with the dominating railroad-utility-business-plantation interests, in the servitor pattern seen in Pennsylvania, Delaware, Montana and other states. The Long machine is Southern Populist statesmanship in its last flowering, with the few virtues and many failures of populism in practice.

The present campaign has been relatively free, however, of the race demagoguery that ate out the heart of the populist movement 50 years ago, and which came to virulent rebirth in the Bilbo period of World War II. Not even Judge Perez's figurehead candidate has agitated the issue. One practical reason for this is the 40,000 Negro voters now registered as Democrats as the result of Supreme Court decisions. Unless this issue is gravely and artificially agitated, the Dixiecrats may exert as little organized strength in the next Presidential election as they appear to be doing in the present Governor's race. A border-line candidate, like Kefauver or Vinson, might strengthen the party from an effective bolting.

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AN END TO CONTAINMENT

by Thomas R. Phillips

THE UNITED STATES has been pursuing a policy of containment toward the Soviet Union since the initiation of the Truman Doctrine in Greece and Turkey in 1947. This doctrine was enunciated by George F. Kennan in the July, 1947, issue of *Foreign Affairs* as follows:

> It will be clearly seen that the Soviet pressure against the free institutions of the Western world is something that can be contained by the adroit and vigilant application of counter-force at a series of constantly shifting geographical and political points, corresponding to the shifts and maneuvers of Soviet policy, but which cannot be charmed or talked out of existence.

Mr. Kennan assumed that if "the Western world finds the strength and resourcefulness to contain Soviet power over a period of 10 to 15 years," there was some hope that the Soviet power, which bears within it the seeds of its own decay, might disintegrate.

Containment is basically defensive. A defensive operation leaves the initiative to the enemy. No long-continued defense, such as Mr. Kennan visualized, is possible. The enemy will ultimately succeed, through surprise or pressure, at some point, and the entire wall of containment is broken.

Weakness is the only excuse for a defensive policy, and the weakness of the West justified this as a temporary policy in 1947. But even a defensive policy is best conducted by offensive maneuvers. The weaker power, by assuming the initiative, can force the stronger power to channel its efforts in a predetermined direction. In the Civil War, the weaker South defended itself for four years against the stronger North by offensive operations which kept the North constantly on the defensive despite its superior strength.

The same principles apply to political action. Instead of responding to Soviet pressure at a "series of constantly shifting geographical and political points," the West should be putting pressure against another series of geographical and political points where the Soviet Union is weak.

Containment, combined with the doctrinaire blundering of Soviet policy, has resulted in important victories and in one serious defeat. The victories were the defeat of the Communist revolution in Greece, the creation of situations of strength in Greece and Turkey, the defeat of Communist subversion in Western Europe, the defeat of the Soviet effort to drive the Western powers out of Berlin, and the failure of the Soviet-inspired effort to conquer South Korea. The great failure was the loss of China.

The Soviet drive for empire commenced during World War II and continued during the peace. In the early days of peace the Western powers attempted to project allied wartime unity into international relations. The Soviet Union, instead of joining with the West to cure the postwar instability, took advantage of every unstable situation throughout the world to improve its power position.

As a result of the military occupation and subsequent communization of the states of Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union gained two of the most important strategic areas of Europe, the Polish Plain and the Danube Basin. The next step was to attempt to outflank the Dardanelles, to give the Soviet Union control of the outlet from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

Failing to gain a revision of the Montreux Convention, Stalin attempted to force the issue by claiming the Turkish provinces of Kars and Ardahan and by demanding a base in the Dodecanese Islands.

A more serious effort to flank the Dardanelles was the Soviet attempt to foment civil war in Greece. Control of Greece would have extended Soviet influence into the Eastern Mediterranean and would have isolated Turkey, the Middle East and the Suez Canal. The Truman Doctrine, assisted by the Yugoslav defection, defeated this threat.

This was the first great victory of containment. Defeat here would have been far more disastrous than the loss of China. The Truman Doctrine represents a complete reversal of our historic position in international affairs. The reversal was made with a speed, viewed historically, without precedent. It saved the Eastern Mediterranean and the entire Western position in the Middle East.

The second victory of containment was effected by the Marshall Plan in Western Europe. This broad and comprehensive plan has restored the economy of Europe and has prevented the communization of France and Italy. It prepared the way for the rebuilding of European military power.

In the meantime China was lost. The facts have been distorted through recrimination and political interest. The accession of China to Communism is more of a dividend for Soviet subversion during the past 30 years

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than a failure of United States policy. Communist victory was made possible by the eight years Chiang fought Japan.

As an offset to the loss of China, the West has won Japan. Japan is a far more important prize. China has little power other than on its borders, and such power as it has depends upon Soviet military equipment. But Japan is a major industrial nation, able in time to counteract Chinese Communist influence on the mainland of Asia.

The three divided states of Europe and Asia, Germany, Austria and Korea, have been held in this status by the Soviet Union in an effort to communize them in entirety. This is one of the major pieces of bad faith and effrontery in the historical record of civilization. Soviet intentions in regard to all of them were made clear by the effort to unify Korea by conquest. The aggression has failed, and the Soviet Union has been given notice that the West is on its final defensive line and will fight any further aggression.

Korea was a major Soviet blunder. It sparked the rearmament of the West and turned the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from a paper proposal into a solid military alliance with an over-all commander with troops at his disposal. The proof that the Soviet Union was willing to engage in war to gain its ends appears to be accomplishing what nothing else could—the integration of Western Europe and the rearmament of Germany and Japan.

With the prospective equalization of military power, the Western defensive, or containment, policy can be ended. The change should be felt in all fields: strategic or geographic, political, economic and propagandist.

An example of strategic progression, under conditions not greatly different from those which now exist, has been given by Hitler. As soon as he had unified Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia was surrounded and was bound to fall sooner or later. The same situation now requires different methods. A fully prosperous and free Germany and Austria on the borders of Czechoslovakia will exercise a moral influence which inevitably will lead to throwing off the Communist yoke in that unhappy and Western-oriented nation.

With Czechoslovakia won, Hungary is surrounded in the same manner, and Hungary inevitably will also fall to the West. This would leave Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria between Western Europe and the Soviet Union. There can be little question as to their choice of direction. The shift of any one state toward the West puts tremendous pressure on all the others. The problem becomes easier with each successive change.

Germany and Austria, the divided states, must each be reunited. This may not be so difficult as it seems today. The Soviet Union is in an anomalous diplomatic position in each. This position should be challenged from every angle and by proposals which place the Soviet Union in an unfavorable position with reference to the two nations. When the West is able to press from assured strength, and with the population almost unanimously in favor of reunion, the internal and external pressures will succeed.

If Germany and Austria are relieved of the Soviet occupation, the treaty provisions by which the Soviet Union is allowed to maintain troops in the satellite states to "guard their lines of communication" will be ended and the Soviet forces can be forced to withdraw.

The satellite states are sources of very real weakness to the Kremlin. Purge after purge of suspected officials has failed to give the Soviet leaders confidence in the loyalty of local Communist puppets. Submission to Soviet domination by the peoples is superficial and unwilling. What they lack is an opportunity to free themselves. In the event of war it seems probable that the enslaved nations would strike a blow for their own freedom and sabotage the Soviet lines of communication. This may be one reason for Soviet caution about war with the West.

Political freedom of the nations with borders on the satellite states and economic prosperity are the most powerful propaganda in the hands of the West. It cannot be shut off. Added to this should be never-ceasing assurance, by propaganda, that their cause is not lost and that liberation is being prepared.

A policy of containment will never accomplish these objectives. The policy must be positive and politically aggressive. The Soviet Union with its satellite system has tremendous and almost insuperable weaknesses which can be exploited from strength.

Diplomatically, in the United Nations and elsewhere, Soviet policies and actions should be constantly challenged. The Soviet Union has no case in justice, but, nevertheless, its diplomats are constantly challenging the West with accusations of the utmost absurdity. The propaganda value of presenting our real case by challenges on such a sounding board as the United Nations is greater than the effect of a dozen Voices of America. We have been a little too nice in dealing with Soviet vituperation and mendacity. We try to answer it, but the reply never has the effect of the accusation. Instead our replies should be challenges which will put the Soviet diplomats on the defensive before the world.

Now is the time for an end to containment and the adoption of an aggressive policy which will restore freedom to the enslaved states.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

LOYALTY, SECURITY AND FREEDOM

by David Spitz

ORTHODOXY presupposes that the truth is known and that opposition to it is either wicked or stupid, and generally both. Consequently heretics, in the dictum of Martin Luther, "are not to be disputed with, but to be condemned unheard." Since, however, only that orthodoxy can effectively condemn which also has power, what is politically significant is not the truth or falsity of the orthodox view but the fact that it is, for the moment, dominant.

FREEDOM IS THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE, by Archibald MacLeish (Beacon; $2.50).

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK, by Henry Steele Commager, Robert K. Carr, Zechariah Chafee Jr., Walter Gellhorn, Curtis Bok, James P. Baxter, III. Edited by Clair Wilcox (University of Pennsylvania Press; $3.50).

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM, by Francis Biddle (Doubleday; $3.50).

THE BATTLE AGAINST DISLOYALTY, by Nathaniel Weyl (Crowell; $3.50).

THE CITIZEN DECIDES, by Ralph Barton Perry (Indiana University Press; $3).

To define loyalty as conformity, therefore, is to divorce it from standards of truth and morality and relate it only to power, eschewing inner conviction for outward compliance. Despite this, orthodoxy has from the beginning constituted a powerful component of the American tradition. Paradoxically, this has been possible only because dissent has prevailed. For while orthodoxy seeks to preclude dissent, especially the dissent of other orthodoxies, dissent not only tolerates but fosters all varieties of orthodox and non-orthodox thought. A system that rests on the principle of dissent does not deny the existence of truth, or its possession by a special body. It argues only that truth is more likely to emerge out of the free play of conflicting opinions; and it insists that men shall remain free to question.

That is the meaning and purpose of democracy. It establishes a way of life in which men with opposing ideas are free to persuade other men of the validity of their doctrines, and to attempt through this process of persuasion to capture political power. Loyalty in these terms is allegiance to the democratic way of life, to the process or system that welcomes into free competition even the most loathsome ideas. And security has as its primary purpose the preservation, not of a particular doctrine or orthodoxy, but of political freedom itself. If in the alleged name of security men seek to abandon or destroy that way of life, they are subverting the very system they claim to defend. Against such a revolutionary thrust, men loyal to democracy are morally compelled to make a stand.

These truths are clearly understood by Archibald MacLeish. With a poet's passion and sensitivity, he reminds us that freedom does not mean the freedom to think *right* thoughts; for "right and wrong as others judge the right and wrong are irrelevant to the American conception." Nor does it mean the freedom to hold anti-Communist opinions or the freedom to be like everybody else—to think as a particular majority or legislature or religious or "patriotic" group wants us to think. Freedom, in American usage, is distinctively "the freedom of the individual human being to think for himself and to come to the truth by the light of his own mind and conscience." It is the freedom to hold *any* opinion, for "the freedom of the mind is the freedom of the man and the freedom of the man is what the Republic *is*."

MacLeish and the contributors to the symposium, *Civil Liberties Under Attack*, are not unaware of the dangers to American freedom from external Communist attack and internal Communist subversion. Indeed, they all share MacLeish's scathing denunciation of Communism as an "authoritarian reaction" to the true revolution of the individual in quest of freedom. But this does not mean, as Walter Gellhorn puts it, that "retreat into impenetrable ignorance" constitutes the road to strength. Nor does it preclude opposition to non-Communist enemies of freedom. The spread of legalized thought control, after all, is not the product of chance but the work of frightened and freedom-hating men. And one of the great dangers—perhaps the greatest danger—that confronts us today is that the fear of Communism (in essence a distrust of democracy) will enable those whom Zechariah Chafee calls "old foes with new faces" to destroy or seriously to impair the freedoms that are crucial to democracy.

Francis Biddle's careful analysis of what has actually been achieved under the security-through-loyalty-as-conformity program underscores the real and pervasive nature of this danger. Loyalty tests and investigations, he observes, have not unearthed hotbeds of sedition; on the contrary, only a fraction of one percent of federal employees has been found to be ineligible on loyalty grounds. What these tests and investigations have achieved is the destruction of the constitutional concept that persons are to be penalized for their conduct, not for their beliefs or for the acts or thoughts of those with whom they associate. They have placed a premium on mediocrity, leading defense attorneys to picture their clients as "models of orthodoxy, limited intelligence and subservience." They have violated the elementary requirements of fair procedure; their hearings have been conducted like a Hollywood version of the Grand Inquisition. They have encouraged the uncritical and unthinking to forget that they are Americans and to act like total-

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itarians, in the manner of the mayor of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, who said: "We are going to treat Communists in McKeesport just as Americans would be treated in Moscow." In the name of freedom, they have subverted freedom.

This conclusion is challenged by Nathaniel Weyl. He draws a distinction between thought surveillance and thought control, and argues that only the latter is unjustifiable in a free society. Since government employment is a privilege rather than a right, discharge from the federal service is not, in his view, punishment as the law understands the term. Moreover, the very small total of dismissals under the loyalty program refutes the charge that a witch hunt is raging in Washington.

This is curious reasoning. In the first place, surveillance, except as it may be used in counter-intelligence to detect conspirators, can have no purpose apart from thought control. In the second place, legal punishment is not the only form of punishment; when a man is discharged for "reasonable doubt" as to his loyalty, the stigma may mean a blighted professional career, unemployment and poverty, avoidance by neighbors and friends. It ought never to be forgotten that the core of a man—his reputation and good name—is at stake; and that, as Biddle quotes Justice Jackson, "the fact that one may not have a legal right to get or keep a government post does not mean that he can be adjudged ineligible illegally." Finally, a witch hunt is not defined by the number of dismissals but by the terror of the hunt itself. Weyl's conclusion that "on balance, the loyalty program has served to protect government workers against injustice, has given them opportunity to defend themselves against false charges, and has been administered with restraint," is belied not only by the testimony of Biddle and Chafee but by the illustrations Weyl himself advances to discredit the work of some of the investigating committees.

Evil as these consequences are, the loyalty program is to be most condemned for its failure—indeed, its necessary failure—to achieve the end desired. If the end is merely security, the program has failed because it has created only "confusion, suffering, and the disunity of suspicion." Nor has it caught spies, for spies are not exposed by loyalty tests but by alert counter-espionage. The end, however, is not security but the security that assures freedom; the loyalty program has not prevented the destruction of freedom; at most, it has prevented the harboring and communicating of destructive ideas. These, Ralph Barton Perry observes, are not the same thing. A government dedicated to freedom must acknowledge that error and false belief are a common concomitant of truth, that the possibility of incitement to subversive action is the price a free society must pay for loyalty based on persuasion rather than force. For life in a free society, Perry argues, is not a nursery in which men are to be protected from ideas. It is a place in which they must continually be exposed to the shifting winds of doctrine; otherwise they lose the very disposition to think and thus cease to be men.

How, then, is freedom to be secured? Not, surely, by a policy which judges loyalty by ceremonies and gestures instead of by conduct; which punishes men for our fear that they might do wrong rather than for doing wrong; which seeks to save freedom by storing it away like a deed or a bond in a bank instead of by using it; which seeks revenge on our enemy by imitating him. This misguided pattern of security, as Commager, Chafee, MacLeish, Biddle and Perry rightly emphasize, serves only to negate freedom. It builds on hate and fear. It compels us to live our lives *against* something rather than *for* something. It results, ultimately, neither in heterodox thought nor in orthodox thought, but in the absence of thought.

Freedom can be secured only when men believe in freedom as a value in itself, when they are committed to the dignity and worth of the individual and seek to build the kind of a country that free men will respect. Where men have abandoned freedom, it has always been for lack of faith—in themselves, in the social order that failed to provide the conditions for their growth.

It is surely strange that America, at the moment of her greatest strength—in technology, standard of living, even military might—should tremble at the challenge of an ideology alien to the traditions and ideals of her people. That some men in high places do tremble can mean only that they have reason to fear, that they have failed to remove the evils that exist within our own society. The solution is not to tremble or to suppress the criticism; it is rather to eliminate the bigotry, discrimination and poverty that breed hatred and distrust. Similarly, as Perry, Biddle and MacLeish argue, the threat of external attack is not to be met by a negative policy that moves only in reaction to the motion of the enemy. It should be countered primarily by a creative policy that seeks to establish throughout the world the conviction that a free society can exist and can alone enable a man to realize his own dignity and worth. This is a war of economics and ideas far more than a war of epithets and bombs. It can be fought by free men, but only if they believe in freedom.

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BORN TOO SOON

OUIDA: THE PASSIONATE VICTORIAN, by Eileen Bigland (Duell, Sloan and Pearce; $3.75).

THE LARGER FACTS and the total atmosphere of the life of Ouida, Louise de la Ramée, constitute a tragi-comedy that often verges on farce; any biographer, even the most sympathetic, must sometimes find sympathy hard to maintain. Born in Bury St. Edmunds in 1839, the daughter of a mysterious French father (a spy of Louis Napoleon?) and a thoroughly Victorian English mother, Ouida began her career as a prolific romantic novelist at the age of twenty-four, and continued to be the darling both of English lending-libraries and the Continental Tauschnitz editions well into the nineties. Henry James called her "a little terrible and finally pathetic *grotesque*"; and there are moments, it is true, when she seems less a human being than a detestable writing automaton—a graft of the worst features of

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Third Empire ostentation upon Victorian snobbishness and "respectability."

Her progress through English, and later Florentine, "high society," clad in a series of Worth ball-gowns, with her movable background of potted palms, hothouse flowers and little dogs; her baffled and quarrelsome affairs of the heart (for they were never actual love affairs) carried out in full public glare; her passion for success—all this, at first view, gives a picture of a completely arrogant and vulgar woman. But there was more to Ouida. The pathos that James sensed was present from the first; and it was transformed, in her later years, into a kind of power which she did not fully understand. It was the pathos of an admirably humane and intelligent nature born out of its time, equipped with a "modern" woman's drive, curiosity and breadth of interest, and warmed by a passionate heart which finally turned from concentration upon individuals toward sympathy with the victims of social injustice and social sham. The aging woman who died in poverty in Viareggio in 1908 had become a student of public affairs, the friend of Wilfred Blunt and his rebellious English circle, and a "bitter-end" critic of the imperialisms by which she was surrounded.

Blunt speaks of the Balzacian truth (despite its quality of extreme caricature) of her "larger world of society, women as well as men," and of her wide range of subject. Vernon Lee linked her name with that of Browning as a writer who described "an Italy . . . unknown before, which once revealed will never be lost again." As we examine the life and background of this woman who was a humanitarian almost without knowing it, we realize that her only weapon against life was the pride and independence of an ignorant and headstrong girl. If she had learned a few elementary tactical lessons of public attack and personal defense—lessons that women were working out for themselves during her lifetime—her career would have suffered less from deplorable trial-and-error procedure. Miss Bigland does her best to be generous, but at moments she tends to emphasize the more rigid and vain side of what was always a fluid and developing personality whose growing woman's intelligence never vanquished the unprotected heart of a child. The volume, printed in England, is beautifully produced, with 25 illustrations that throw light upon many phases of Ouida's literary and social period. LOUISE BOGAN

GUILT AND HISTORY

THE FOOT OF PRIDE, by Malcolm Hay. With an Introduction by Thomas Sugrue (Beacon; $3.75).

THE AMERICAN JEW: CHARACTER AND DESTINY, by Ludwig Lewisohn (Farrar, Straus; $2.50).

THE GREAT TRAGEDY of European Jewry under Hitler has thus far been little reflected in the mainstream of European and American historical literature. Unlike the novelists, Sartre for one, few historians have taken cognizance of the grave effect of anti-Semitism upon society at large. Now Malcolm Hay's volume, at once an informed historical treatise and an eloquent confession of guilt has in part filled this gap.

Hay's unusual career has prepared him emotionally as well as intellectually for his arduous task. A British officer, wounded and taken captive by the Germans at the very beginning of the First World War, he left the army and turned to historical research. He addressed himself to the elucidation of Protestant-Catholic relations in the British Isles. Combining true Catholic piety with independent judgment, he successfully attacked many accepted notions of British history. After the Second World War he was a first-hand observer of Britain's hopeless mismanagement of the tangled Palestinian problems. Trying to understand the phenomenon of Jewish mass murders by the Germans—made possible in part by the callousness of the Allied nations in refusing to open their gates to Jewish refugees—he undertook to study the underlying motivations and the deeper historical factors that made genocide possible. The result of his researches is best expressed by his quotation from Solon *via* Richard Bentley. When asked what would rid the world of injuries, the ancient Greek lawgiver supposedly replied: "If the bystanders would have the same resentment as those that suffer wrong."

One cannot say that upon leaving this genuinely moving volume the reader will necessarily be optimistic about the prospects of the bystanders' self-identification with future victims of mass hysteria. The burden of Hay's presentation is that anti-Jewish prejudice is as old as the Christian Church, that its foundations were laid in the New Testament period, especially through the Gospel of John, that it was further developed by such Church Fathers as St. John Chrysostom, and so deepened as to become an almost hereditary mass obsession under medieval Christendom. Hay then explains how this medieval heritage, including its blood libels and accusations of Jewish "usury," was reinterpreted in modern secular and nationalistic terms, with the Catholic clergy's active participation, in the France of Drumont and the *Action Française*, whom he rightly calls the "Godfathers of Belsen." In short, the author subscribes to Jules Isaac's bitter exclamation:

> German responsibility for these crimes, however overwhelming it may be, is only a secondary responsibility, which has grafted itself, like a hideous parasite, upon a secular tradition, which is a Christian tradition. How can one forget that Christianity, chiefly from the eleventh century, has employed against Jews a policy of degradation and of pogroms, which has been extended—among certain Christian people—into contemporary history which can be observed still alive today in most of Catholic Poland, and of which the Hitlerian system has been only a copy, atrociously perfected.

Hay is no less outspoken on the guilt of the Protestant nations, including Britain and the United States. He quotes as informed a witness as Henry Morgenthau Jr. to the effect that long after the Nazi extermination plan had become known to the world, "the American State Department did practically nothing. Officials dodged their grim responsibility, procrastinated when concrete rescue schemes were placed before them, and even suppressed information about atrocities in order to prevent an outraged public opinion from forcing their hands." He derives the only possible comfort from the sequel to this

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grim tale, namely, the rise of the State of Israel. The realization of the Zionist goal, long considered by leading statesmen an "inevitable failure," seems to him to open new possibilities for overcoming age-old antagonism.

Hay's point of view is not wholly novel; it carries on the tradition of the "lachrymose" conception of Jewish history which has so long and so effectively been expounded by Jewish historians from Zunz to Dubnow. But there are many novel arguments and some details of documentation. Most significantly, it is the first time an informed Catholic writer has accepted a point of view still rejected by other Catholic historians.

Nevertheless, Hay's treatise leaves many questions unanswered. One would like to hear, in particular, how he expects the rise of Israel to diminish the "pressure of Christendom on the people of Israel" which, according to his persuasive narrative, has continued unabated for nineteen centuries. But whatever its shortcomings—all minor—this profession of collective guilt will remain an important document of our age.

Ludwig Lewisohn starts where Hay leaves off. In his little volume, in part reprinted from the *Jewish Frontier*, the well-known novelist and critic inquires into the destiny of the American Jew in the light of the new world situation. As an old-time Zionist, Lewisohn enthusiastically hails the rise of the new state. And yet he is keenly aware not only of certain defects in the new Israeli society, but also that the future of American Jewry will largely be fashioned by the American Jews themselves:

> We live in a strangely evil world. The Jewish people has been the chief victim of this evil. But as one of the peoples on the scene of contemporary history, it has also, it has inevitably, been infected by those evils too. Everywhere it needs purgation, everywhere it needs redemption.

The essay is an eloquent exhortation to the Jews of this country to prepare themselves, intellectually as well as religiously, for such inner purgation.

SALO W. BARON

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HINDU WISDOM

PHILOSOPHIES OF INDIA, by Heinrich Zimmer. Edited by Joseph Campbell. (Pantheon, Bollingen Series XXVI; $6).

THIS VALUABLE STUDY of Hindu thought is made up largely of the material for university lectures delivered about a decade ago by Dr. Zimmer, supplemented by chapters built on notes that had to be arranged posthumously by the editor. It is distinguished no less by the devotion with which Joseph Campbell completed his task than by the scrupulous work of the scholar responsible for the bulk of the book.

The first part is a general survey of the subject, treating the divergence between the approach of East and West to the mystery of the universe, and discussing "The Foundations of Indian Philosophy." The second part deals with Hindu attitudes toward worldly life, and the third examines in detail the metaphysical structure of India's various philosophies: Jainism, Sankhya-Yoga, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Tantra. Some passages, notably at the start, are a little stuffy, and there are those that the reader is inclined to dismiss with an "Elementary, my dear Watson," but by far the greater portion of this stout volume is as solid intellectually as it is physically, and there are flashes of humor as well as clear exposition of extremely subtle ideas. The etymological excursions are most helpful and the more abstruse discussions are enlivened by illustrative material from Hindu folklore.

We have heard often enough about the gulf between East and West. One of the virtues of the present study is that it illuminates both shores and provides a bridge from the one to the other. Indeed, implicit in these pages is the author's desire to make available to Western minds the wisdom of Hindu thinkers concerned about first and last things, but also fully aware of the necessity for dealing intelligently with a world in which there prevails what they call "the Law of the Fish": the big ones eat the little ones. That wisdom, as exhibited in a variety of sacred and secular texts composed anywhere from three thousand years ago to the period just before World War II, differs in detail but not in substance from the understandings of some of our most notable thinkers and poets. It is at one with the imagination of Blake, declaring eternity to be in love with the productions of time. It was adumbrated repeatedly by Coleridge. The metaphysics of Spinoza touches on it, and it is the essence of the system of the philosopher who saw the world as Will and Idea. In his discussion of the Veda, Dr. Zimmer observes that the appeal of this religion lay in the fact that it enabled men "to transcend, in some measure, the threat of death and the miseries of life—which was a pressing, very serious concern in those ancient times of incessant war. . . ." In these modern times of intermittent, if not incessant war, when the threat of death hangs over civilians and soldiers alike, and the miseries of life are the heavy lot of most, the generous purview and the acute psychological insights of the Hindu are peculiarly precious.

BABETTE DEUTSCH

FICTION PARADE

BARABBAS, by Pär Lagerkvist (Random House; $2.75).

THE SECOND SCROLL, by A. M. Klein (Knopf; $2.75).

THIS MAN AND THIS WOMAN, by James T. Farrell (Vanguard; $2.75).

MELVILLE GOODWIN, USA, by John P. Marquand (Little, Brown; $3.75).

NOT SURPRISINGLY, the best of these novels, *Barabbas*, is by a man immersed in that European tradition which considers the artist's obligation to perfect each work a sacred delight, by the man who has won—and deserves—the Nobel Prize. Though he is almost unknown in this country, Pär Lagerkvist's sparse, dissimilar, interrelated plays, poems, essays and novels have earned him a high place in the tradition he continues. Since I do not read Swedish and *The Dwarf*, his only other work translated into English, is no longer available, my generalizations depend on faith, yet I feel sure of them because I have read *Barabbas* in what seems an excellent translation.

The novel creates what Barabbas may have been. Sparely, in a style that commands every detail, that permits no excess even in sentence structure, Lagerkvist evokes the time of Christ and of the man who was not crucified in his place. The

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man with "eyes too deep-set, as though they wanted to hide," who was born "in hatred of heaven and earth and the Creator of heaven and earth," who wants to believe and not believe that we should love one another, is Barabbas—and many of us who cannot bear the misery of a world that appears to require an incomprehensible benignity to justify it. For the novel is also a parable, a Scripture diffidently and magnificently written.

The clear core of meaning is Barabbas' struggle to become an "unreasonable" man who has faith, but there are multiple if unspecific implications throughout the novel. Peter, the girl with the harelip; the fat woman, Sahak—all of the characters, represent important attitudes toward belief, in Christ's time and our own.

A. M. Klein's *The Second Scroll* is almost as good as *Barabbas*, and that is high praise for a first novel. It too is a parable. "I" searches for Uncle Melech, a wanderer in faith and through countries, a symbolic Jew and a credible individual who has his Genesis in Judaism, his Exodus in Communism, his Leviticus in Catholicism, his Numbers in humanitarianism, his Deuteronomy in Israel. One might interpret this as propaganda for those who have no place to lay their heads, as a skillful Zionist tract in fiction, but it is not. Intelligently read, it is a revelation of the modern Jew; it tells more about his sensitive, hopeful, despairing search for the withdrawn promise than any novel I have read. It is as far superior to Koestler's *Thieves in the Night* as *Barabbas* is to *The Robe.*

The parable proper, the first 121 pages, is economically and suggestively written. None of Klein's good poetry surpasses this prose. Of the Ghetto in Casablanca: "Decades of digestion raise their disgust through the streets." Though the central intention is less obviously universal than that of *Barabbas*, there are overtones of implication in the telling that go beyond the main theme without straying from it.

Klein's relative immaturity as an artist is evident in his awkward attempt to enrich the novel by 75 pages of glosses to which the reader is referred in footnotes. Some of the glosses, particularly the drafts for a liturgy, are good writing, but they only intrude clever complication into the unity of the parable proper. One hopes that Klein, who is doing a commentary on *Ulysses*, will learn to control rather than display his virtuosity.

What has been (and still diminishedly is) good and bad in the novels of Farrell and Marquand appears again. *This Man and This Woman* is, I am sure, an accurate study of the *lumpenbourgeoisie*, the story of the last days in a long marriage that is and always was sordid and pathetic. The painstaking, painful accumulation of details makes one recognize and feel, but the enlightenment is minimal.

Marquand's *Melville Goodwin, USA* has delightful pages, particularly when Sid Skelton is with Gilbert Frary or Dottie. However, the book is heavy with unconvincing flashbacks to the earlier life of General Goodwin, who does not become, even in the forward action, much more than an oversimplification of what one hopes generals are not. In most essentials, he is a poor George Apley who goes into the Army and illustrates, like all Marquand characters, the insight too many of his novels have more or less skillfully reiterated: "Life makes almost everyone into something that he never exactly wanted to be, and then the time comes when he can't very well be anything else." HARVEY CURTIS WEBSTER

Books in Brief

Ross and the New Yorker, by Dale Kramer (Doubleday; $3.75).

The late Harold Ross was an unusual individual and a brilliant editor; although he tried to submerge his personality, it is pretty clear that he was primarily responsible for the success of his magazine. Dale Kramer's book—published some weeks before Ross's death—is both a biography of the editor and a history of the magazine. He has conscientiously—perhaps too conscientiously—assembled a mass of facts about Ross's youthful life as a reporter in the Far West, and the early days of the magazine, when its future seemed so doubtful that at one point its suspension was actually ordered; he repeats most of the famous stories about the weird goings-on of the staff in the *New Yorker* office, debunks some of them, and adds a few new ones. In spite of his hard work, the reader is left with no very clear idea of what made Ross tick, or why so many talented men were willing to work so hard for him.

North America, by Anthony Trollope, Edited by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth (Knopf; $6).

Anthony Trollope was a far greater artist than his mother, Frances, but as a commentator on the curious Americans he suffered from disadvantages that did not impede her: he was a famous man from whom important pronouncements were expected, he was conscientious and fair-minded and he was eager to restore his family name to good repute in a nation that had been using it as an expletive ever since his uninhibited parent sailed for home. The result is that, whereas *Domestic Manners of the Americans* is still a delight, *North America*, written some 30 years later, is barely readable.

The novelist visited this country during the Civil War and devotes a considerable portion of his journal to that conflict and to the attitude a right-minded Englishman should hold toward it. His views are superficial and his forecasts are exactly wrong. He proved at great length that the breach between North and South

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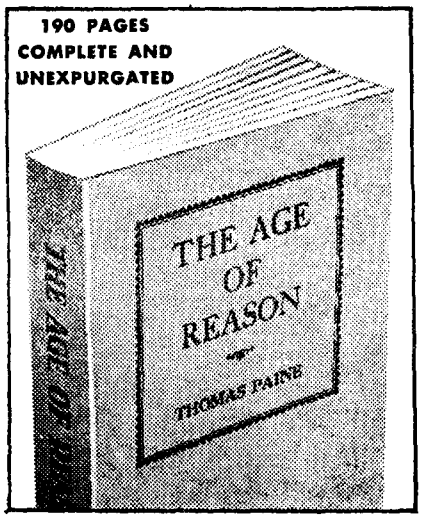

EARLY in life, Abraham Lincoln was tremendously influenced by the writings of Thomas Paine—particularly by his essay advocating the abolition of slavery. Lincoln constantly sought inspiration in Paine's works. He said: "I never tire of reading Paine". Thomas A. Edison came under the influence of Paine and fully acknowledged his indebtedness to this profound thinker. He said: "Paine educated me . . ." Men like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson loved and honored this great genius.

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was unhealable; he predicted that the city of Washington would never be built beyond its sketchy beginnings.

Trollope reminds his fellow countrymen again and again that the natives of a foreign land must be judged by their own standards; he detested ours, hard though he tried to be generous. The chapters on Boston (Trollope was alarmed by the public passion for attending lectures), on Niagara Falls (Trollope preferred the American Falls; his mother favored the Canadian) and on hotels (over-large, inexpensive but not really comfortable for gentlefolk) are entertaining. The remarks on the bad manners of children and women "of a certain class" still have pungency; the analysis of the doomed utopianism of the Lowell knitting mills is shrewd. For the rest, the book comes alive today only for a paragraph here and there in pages and pages of the most judicious observation. The present edition is carefully edited and handsomely produced as a companion volume to *Domestic Manners.*

ON THE AIR

There's Still Radio

MUSIC must dominate this bi-weekly report. On Christmas Eve, there was *Amahl and the Night Visitors,* for which Gian-Carlo Menotti was librettist, composer and stage director. A few nights later, Arturo Toscanini made his second television appearance of the season in an all-Wagner program. January 3, *Television Opera Theatre* brought us Tchaikovsky's *Pique Dame,* in English, with David Poleri singing and acting the lead role of Gherman. All these events were on NBC-TV. Toscanini is certain to make at least one more telecast this winter; *Opera Theatre* is on regularly once a month, on a Tuesday night, at 11, New York time; and the Menotti work will surely receive at least annual revival (and may soon be heard also on records to be released by RCA Victor). You will have to consult your newspaper for program details concerning these examples of television at its best. And I must refer you to the music specialists for detailed criticisms; I'll content myself here with discussion of another musical moment. This came on ABC radio, Sunday night at 9:15, immediately after Walter Winchell. You can listen any week; the star is Marlene Dietrich.

There are other things you can hear on radio. Sunday nights, for instance, you might tune in to CBS at 10:15 and listen to *The People Act.* I wrote at length about that program in an advance notice in the issue of December 24. The show is the first important program subsidized by the Ford Foundation's Television-Radio Workshop. It is an exemplary radio documentary. Producer-writer Irving Gitlin, leaving fol-de-rol and fancy trimmings on the shelf, has sent expert field reporters to do on-location tape recordings in communities around the country where citizens are acting as citizens should—responsibly and for the common weal. The première reported how 2,000 women organized to reduce corruption in the local government of Gary, Indiana. Gitlin, using only one professional voice—that of Robert Trout, who has just returned to CBS after trying NBC for about three years—let the women of Gary, and a few men, tell their own story. *People* lived up to its promise.

Radio is also doing excellent work by helping the United Nations Radio tell something about the UN's humanitarian activities—a story largely skipped by the press. Dorothy Lewis, UN Radio's co-ordinator for American broadcasting, has shown me one city's schedule of UN Radio broadcasts. In Louisville, eight stations, including the local outlets for each of the five radio networks (the fifth is the Liberty Broadcasting System), carry the programs. In the last three years, according to Mrs. Lewis, radio broadcasters have contributed annually $12 million worth of time for programs originating at the United Nations. Mrs. Lewis has just launched a drive to increase the audience for the UN output. With the help of 35 national organizations, she has organized a "UN Communications Campaign" covering 250 cities in the United States. The goal is to get 20 million more listeners by June. It is an important undertaking on which everyone's help is needed. Mrs. Lewis, who may be addressed at the Radio Division, United Nations, New York 17, will tell you how you can participate.

Now back to Miss Dietrich. Her program is called *Café Istanbul.* There, as Mademoiselle Madou, Dietrich—according to the ABC press release—"sings." Well, it is really more a chant, intriguing, adventurous, and a little monotonous. On the opening night, two deaths were enacted before the microphone. But Madou survived the bloodshed and was still doing her sultry act when the half-hour ended. "She has reached," explains the press release, "a point in life where nothing much matters except the excitement her patrons provide with their plots and counterplots."

ABC is the network which on television broadcasts, each Wednesday night from 10 to 11, the season's two best dramatic series, alternating weekly between *Celanese Theatre* and *Pulitzer Prize Playhouse.* But on radio, the best it can do to fill that post-Winchell peak period is this package of stale patchouli. Both radio and Miss Dietrich deserve better.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE

The Mighty Have Tripped

HOW CAN so many riches produce poverty? During the past weeks we have been served Shakespeare, Shaw, Ibsen—with meager results. Only an old Rodgers and Hart musical brought life to the stage.

I admire Laurence Olivier and think Vivien Leigh a beautiful woman who can be an effective actress (though she is more material than maker), but, as in London, I found their productions of Shaw's *Caesar and Cleopatra* and Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*—directed by Michael Benthall—indifferent. One could enjoy Miss Leigh's attractive clothes in Shaw's play, Olivier's droll character make-up as Caesar, the theatrical aplomb of the company as a whole, the technical handsomeness with which both productions are managed, but when all is said and done, nothing seems to have been created; no single sharp impression is made. I was not antagonized; I felt very much like the street-corner

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orator who challenged his audience: "Is there a God? Take either side!"

Shaw said of his *Caesar*, "I was too young when I wrote it. The middle of the play is idle charade." It has a certain importance in so far as the anti-fustian approach to the historical play was a delightfully shocking experience to the theatregoers fifty years ago. There are endearing bits here and there, an eloquent passage on the folly of vengefulness as a political motive, a glowing description of Cleopatra's lover-to-be Marc Antony and, above all, the tonic astringency of Shaw's morality. Is not all this bounty enough for one evening —especially when one adds Miss Leigh's loveliness and the impish cuteness?

What is lacking in this and even more crucially in Shakespeare's magnificent play is a point of view, a personal approach, a genuine artistic intent. What comes through these productions is that Olivier loves the stage and Miss Leigh. The productions have an atmosphere of painstaking and respectful hard work coupled with a fundamental tiredness of spirit. One is reminded of those large academic paintings of impressive subject and detail which amaze the eye and leave one inner's self untouched. I found no zest in the *Caesar*, no passion in the *Antony*—only the trappings of an admirably stocked theatrical tradition.

I do not believe one ought to be too severe with the City Center production of *The Wild Duck* because of the limitations imposed in staging an ambitious play with only two weeks of rehearsal. Nevertheless there were absurdities here—for example the birthday-cake setting—which were almost inexcusable. And Maurice Evans should be careful in his choice of a director when he undertakes a realistic role. In the end one wonders if it is not better to forgo Ibsen entirely than to do him so inadequately.

The Wild Duck is still a play of considerable stature. The point is often made that in it Ibsen was poking fun at his own grim idealism, and suggesting that the bit-in-the-mouth reformer is often a damn fool: people cannot live without illusions, etc. While this is true, the value of the play, it seems to me, is in its probing exposure of the sickness within provincial middle-class life—its deeply depressed romanticism, its dreamlike depair, its inability to touch reality, which leads to ineradicable self-deception.

I had intended to discuss Anouilh's *Eurydice*, which was called *Point of Departure* in London and *Legend of Lovers* here, as a case history of how a clever, gifted and perhaps even superior writer could turn out a play which is theatrically arresting as well as socially significant in an oblique way, and yet one which proves morally shoddy and artistically specious. When I saw the play in London, I thought its sweet-scented pessimism something one could luxuriate in up to the moment one began to gag, though I could not deny it a certain surface fascination. But it is so badly cast in New York, so unfelt in all its aspects—despite the fact that Peter Ashmore was responsible for the direction here as in London—that the discussion I had contemplated would, in the circumstances, be entirely pointless.

The first act of *Pal Joey* is a musical-comedy masterpiece. It is trim, sharp, tuneful and, in its own hard little way, almost poignant. No one in our theatre was better able to combine Broadway wickedness with wistfulness than Lorenz Hart. He had an acute appreciation of the deviltry of American big-city fun together with a peculiar nostalgia for some more romantic era he senses in the European nineteenth-century poets. Hart was a sort of honky-tonk Heine. Richard Rodgers understood him. Together they wrote such perfect songs as *Bewitched, Bothered and Bewildered*. They found in Vivienne Segal—New York smart, stage-wise and sempiternally gracious—a perfect interpreter. Helen Gallagher's salty simper, Elaine Stritch's brassy charm, Thelma Tadlock's molasses curves and treble klaxon nasality, Oliver Smith's crisp settings and Miles White's on-the-nose costuming plus Harold Lang's fleet dancing make *Pal Joey*, like *Guys and Dolls*, one of the more serious achievements of the present-day New York stage. HAROLD CLURMAN

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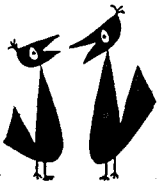

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